

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01  
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USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 3804

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PFOR UR US XF  
SUBJECT: BREZHNEV'S TRADE UNION SPEECH: MIDDLE EAST ASPECTS

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL. SOVIET ME POLICY STATEMENT  
IN BREZHNEV'S MARCH 21 TRADE UNION CONGRESS SPEECH CONTAINS MOST  
DETAILED, AUTHORITATIVE, PUBLIC EXPOSITION OF SOVIET ME VIEWS TO  
DATE. WHILE MANY OF DETAILS IN STATEMENT ARE  
NEW IN THE SENSE OF NOT HAVING BEEN MADE PUBLIC BEFORE,  
AND CERTAINLY NOT AT THE BREZHNEV LEVEL, MANY OF THEM  
REFLECT PRIOR SOVIET POSITIONS AND MANY WERE CONTAINED  
IN SOVIET BILATERAL PROPOSALS MADE TO U.S. IN SOVIET  
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PAPER OF JUNE 17, 1969. END SUMMARY. END CONFIDENTIAL.

2. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED. ASSUME DEPT. HAS COMPLETE TEXT OF BREZHNEV  
SPEECH. EMBASSY WISHES TO DRAW ATTENTION TO BREZHNEV'S COMMENTS  
ON FOLLOWING KEY ME POINTS:

--PEACE DOCUMENTS SHOULD PROVIDE FOR WITHDRAWAL

OF ISRAELI TROOPS FROM ALL ARAB TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN 1967. THIS MIGHT BE IN STAGES, E.G., OVER SEVERAL MONTHS, BUT WITHIN A STRICTLY DETERMINED PERIOD. THE APPROPRIATE LINES OF THE BORDERS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS--PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONFLICT--SHOULD BE PRECISELY DETERMINED. THESE BORDERS SHOULD BE DECLARED DEFINITELY ESTABLISHED AND INVOLABLE;

--FROM MOMENT OF COMPLETION OF WITHDRAWAL, STATE OF WAR WILL CEASE AND RELATIONS OF PEACE WILL BE ESTABLISHED. THEN ALL SIDES WILL TAKE ON MUTUAL OBLIGATION TO RESPECT SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, INVOLABILITY AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF EACH OTHER AND TO SETTLE THEIR INTERNATIONAL ARGUMENTS BY PEACEFUL MEANS;

--BY AGREEMENT, DEMILITARIZED ZONES--WITHOUT ONE SIDED ADVANTAGE FOR ANYONE--COULD BE ESTABLISHED ON BOTH SIDES OF ESTABLISHED BORDERS. WITHIN THESE ZONES EITHER SPECIAL ARMED FORCES OF UN OR UN OBSERVERS WOULD BE DEPLOYED FOR SOME PRECISELY DETERMINED PERIOD;

--DOCUMENTS SHOULD REFER TO STATUS OF FREE PASSAGE FOR ALL COUNTRIES INCLUDING ISRAEL (AFTER CESSATION OF STATE OF WAR) IN STRAIT OF TIRAN AND GULF OF AQABA AND ALSO TO STATEMENT BY EGYPT ON PASSAGE OF SHIPS IN SUEZ CANAL;

--THE CARRYING OUT OF THE CONDITIONS OF PEACE SETTLEMENT COULD BE GUARANTEED BY UNSC, OR BY SOVIET CONFIDENTIAL

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UNION, U.S., FRANCE AND ENGLAND. GUARANTEEING STATES COULD HAVE THEIR OWN OBSERVERS IN UN CONTINGENTS IN APPROPRIATE ZONES;

--IN CONNECTION WITH PEACE SETTLEMENT, APPROPRIATE STATES COULD EXAMINE QUESTIONS OF HELPING STOP ARMS RACE IN REGION. END UNCLASSIFIED.

3. BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL. COMMENT. ALTHOUGH DEFINED AS SOVIET "OPINION" AND CAREFULLY HEDGED WITH LIBERAL USE OF CONDITIONAL VERBS, BREZHNEV'S REMARKS REPRESENT DEFINITIVE SOVIET POLICY. WE CANNOT RECALL SUCH A DETAILED PREVIOUS PUBLIC EXPOSITION OF POLICY AT THIS HIGHEST SOVIET LEVEL. HOWEVER, MUCH OF WHAT BREZHNEV SAYS HAS BEEN EXPRESSED BY THE SOVIET UNION PRIVATELY. EMBASSY HAS EXCERPTS (CLASSIFIED) FROM A SOVIET PAPER OF JUNE 17, 1969, WHICH WAS APPARENTLY PRESENTED TO U.S. DURING BILATERAL TALKS OF THAT TIME. THESE EXCERPTS ALSO REFER TO PHASED ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL--IN THIS CASE TO BORDER LINES WHICH EXISTED BEFORE THE

CONFLICT OF JUNE 1967--AND TO CESSATION OF STATE OF WAR UPON COMPLETION. EXCERPTS ALSO REFER TO DEMILITARIZED ZONES ON BOTH SIDES OF BORDERS, BUT MENTIONES DEPLOYMENT OF UN FORCES ONLY TO GAZA SECTOR AND AT SHARM ASH-SHEIKH.

4. BREZHNEV'S DEFINITIVE STATEMENT ON FREE PASSAGE FOR ALL SHIPS INCLUDING ISRAELI ONES MAY BE A NEW DEPARTURE, ALTHOUGH WE NOTE THAT THIS WOULD OCCUR ONLY AFTER COMPLETE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL AND WOULD ALSO BE DISTINCT FROM THE REGIME WHICH EGYPT WOULD ESTABLISH FOR THE SUEZ CANAL.

5. BREZHNEV'S REMARKS WERE NOTEWORTHY IN OMITTING REFERENCE TO PLO PARTICIPATION IN THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. NOR DID HE MENTION UN RESOLUTION 242, A MAJOR STUMBLING BLOCK TO MOVEMENT TOWARD GENEVA.

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6. IN PART, WE SEE THE TIMING OF BREZHNEV'S REMARKS AS MOTIVATED BY A DESIRE TO BALANCE THE MORE DETAILED EXPOSITION OF U.S. VIEWS REPRESENTED BY THE PRESIDENT'S RECENT STATEMENTS ON "DEFENSIBLE BORDERS" AND A "PALESTINIAN HOMELAND." BREZHNEV'S EMPHASIS ON THE BORDER ISSUE AND ON THE MECHANISMS ENVISAGED TO POLICE THOSE BORDERS WOULD SEEM TO SUPPORT THIS ASSUMPTION. THE REMARKS MAY ALSO BE INTERPRETED AS A MEANS OF PUSHING SOVIET ME INTERESTS TO THE FORE AT A TIME WHEN THE U.S. HAS CLEARLY SEIZED THE INITIATIVE IN THE REGION.

7. IT WILL BE INTERESTING TO SEE HOW MOSCOW COPEs WITH THE DANGER REPRESENTED BY ITS NOW EXPOSED POSITION. RADICAL ARAB OPPOSITION TO MOSCOW'S CONSISTENT POSITION OF SUPPORT FOR THE EXISTENCE OF THE ISRAELI STATE HAS BEEN PAPERED OVER BY DELIBERATELY AMBIGUOUS LANGUAGE IN NUMEROUS COMMUNIQUEs. MOSCOW'S DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE METHOD BY WHICH IT PROPOSES TO GUARANTEE THE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL WILL MAKE THAT DELIBERATE AMBIGUITY MORE DIFFICULT TO MAINTAIN AND MAY PRESAGE DIFFICULTIES FOR MOSCOW'S EFFORT TO SUPPORT ARAB UNITY ON A "PROGRESSIVE" BASE.  
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## Message Attributes

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